

## Message Text

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FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6475

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1964

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJECT: HOW TO DEAL WITH "BEAN-CURD TIGERS"

1. A TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY ARTICLE IN THE SEPTEMBER 29 PEOPLE'S DAILY MOUNTS A FIERCE ATTACK ON THE "BOURGEOISIE IN THE PARTY." THE ARTICLE, CO-AUTHORED BY TSINGHUA PARTY DEPUTY SECRETARY JUNG YUNG-LIN AND THE UNIVERSITY'S DEPUTY POLITICAL DIRECTOR WU WEI<sup>3</sup>67, TREATS MAO'S TEACHING ON THE BOURGEOISIE IN THE PARTY AS THE CRUX OF THE CHAIRMAN'S LINE. THE AUTHORS REPEAT THE NOW UNIVERSAL CALL TO "ACT ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN" AND EXPLICITLY TIE THIS TO CARRYING ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALIST ROADERS, "NO MATTER WHO THEY ARE."

2. THE ARTICLE'S LANGUAGE IS FIERY THROUGHOUT, WITH CALLS TO FITSY" THE BOURGEOISIE AND TO "GO AGAINST THE TIDE." IT DECLARES THAT PROLETARIAN REVOLUTIONARIES WILL NEVER FORGET THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, WHICH HAS GIVEN THEM A GREATER PRACTICAL UNDERSTANDING OF HOW TO STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALIST ROADERS. THESE VILLAINS, THE BOURGEOISIE  
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IN THE PARTY, MAY SEEM POWERFUL FOR A TIME, BUT IN FACT THEY ARE ONLY

PAPER TIGERS, OR RATHER "BEAN-CURD TIGERS" (TOU-FU LAO-HU).

3. TSINGHUA AND ITS FRATERNAL RADICAL BASTION PEKING UNIVERSITY WEIGH IN WITH SIMILARLY UNCOMPROMISING RHETORIC IN THE OCTOBER RED FLAG. THE "PEKING-TSINGHUA UNIVERSITIES MASS CRITICISM GROUP" -- AN ANONYMOUS AND PROLIFIC BELLWETHER OF LEFTIST THINKING FOR SOME THREE YEARS -- INSISTS THAT "TO FIGHT SEVERAL ROUNDS AGAINST A MISTAKEN LINE IS NOT ENOUGH." THE GROUP CALLS FOR CONTINUATION AND INTENSIFICATION OF REVOLUTIONARY CRITICISM OF TENG'S PROGRAM; THIS IS A "BROAD, MASS, AND PROTRACTED" STRUGGLE TASK. THAT THE GROUP INTENDS AND EXPECTS FAR MORE THAN STUDY, EMPTY VERBIAGE AND ROTE POSTURING IS EVIDENT FROM SELECTION OF SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS. THE READER IS EXHORTED TO "UNDERSTAND" ONE OF MAO'S MOST MILITANT QUOTES: "THERE IS NO CONSTRUCTION WITHOUT DESTRUCTION." OBSERVING THAT THE BOURGEOISIE AND REVISIONIST THOUGHT HAVE INFILTRATED "VARIOUS FRONTS AND REALS OF SOCIETY. . . AMONG THEM CULTURE," THE AUTHORS DEMAND THAT THE PROLETARIAT "EXERCISE DICTATORSHIP" OVER THE BOURGEOISIE, I.E. THAT THERE BE STRUGGLE AGAINST AND SUPPRESSION OF THE LEFT'S FOES. LEST ANYONE THINK THAT A MERE HANDFUL OF TENG'S CLOSEST ASSOCIATES MIGHT BE THE ULTIMATE TARGETS, THE PEKING-TSINGHUA GROUP EXPLICITLY DEFINES THE TASK AHEAD: "SWEEP OUT THE TRASH OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND REVISIONISM FROM EVERY CORNER."

5. ALL OF THIS SUGGESTS THE LEFT IS NOT RECONCILED TO THE UNITY THEME OF THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, AND THAT SHANGHAI'S FUNERAL MESSAGE LAMENT -- THAT CHAIRMAN MAO HAD PASSED AWAY JUST AS SHANGHAI WAS PREPARING TO OPEN A NEW STRUGGLE -- MAY NOT HAVE BEEN HYPERBOLE.  
DEAN

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